

423 past and discontent with the present was a compensation for their feeling of  
178 inferiority to the other villagers about them. Their slowness to adopt any-  
thing new showed up in small ways. Noting that the flies were bad at the  
café, I asked them what they thought of DDT. "Oh, that's wonderful,"  
[177] they said. "The English brought in DDT just at the end of the war and  
[825] for two years we weren't bothered with flies at all. But now the flies are  
back and I guess we'll have to put up with them." Flies, of course, were  
only a minor irritation. They complained of many greater difficulties.

423 "We are becoming overpopulated. We are increasing. A person with  
seven children can't feed them properly on fifteen acres. If we tried to  
stop children from coming someone would say that we were being anti-  
religious."

And then another added, "If we only get our pasture land, we will be  
content."

"Are you sure of that?" someone asked. "If you had one hundred fifty  
acres instead of fifteen, wouldn't you still think that too little? Isn't that  
human nature?"

The director, perhaps to even up the score of what was a trying experi-  
ence for him, sent a parting shot which made the men grin sheepishly:  
"Really, now, this talk of your getting the pasture land is a little beside the  
point. Actually, you are already profiting from this land, since — contrary  
• [685] to the law — you are now letting your animals pasture there during the  
night in the belief that nobody knows what you are doing. But let us hope  
that soon the land will be yours and you won't have to try to be so clever."

[521] The frank, rather acrid discussion ended, as most Greek café arguments do,  
with at least the appearance of good humor.

423 Thomai in Thessaly pointed up one aspect of land reform — land re-  
241 distribution. However, no matter how disturbed the Thomai peasant be-  
came about it, the crucial aspect of land reform in Greece today is not re-  
distribution. The government has scraped bottom in its search for more  
land for the peasants. What is more desperately needed, from the stand-  
point of efficient farm management, is the concentration of an owner's  
scattered strips into one compact holding which can be worked as a unit.<sup>14</sup>

[311] One traditional way of decreasing the disadvantages of the divided holdings  
is the *domka* system of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace under which the  
entire area of the community is divided into three sections.<sup>15</sup> In any given  
year all of the land owned by the various families of the community in one  
section is planted with the predominant crop, a second section lies fallow  
for a year, and the third section is kept fallow for a longer period and is  
used for pasture. Obviously the abandonment of the fallow part of the  
rotation cycle and the increasing use of cover crops or fertilized commer-  
cial crops makes the *domka* system outmoded.

626 others present, for there are prescribed roles that go with the position one  
[577] holds at a given time. Social control tends to enforce the playing of these prescribed roles and to discourage the highly individualistic variations to which others are not prepared to respond.

Without attempting to trace the complete system of operating controls in a Greek village, I shall mention some of the methods encountered as supplements to many already dealt with in earlier chapters.

682 The most far-reaching controls have to do with the taking of human life.  
627 Today in most parts of Greece this has passed into the hands of the police and the legal system, but some generations ago it was common for family members to think that they themselves should deal with anyone who killed a kinsman.

From time to time, I would ask in a village whether any serious crimes had been committed and would hear of an isolated case — such as the woman who, a few years ago, as the result of a boundary dispute, had picked up a stone and killed a man, thereafter being put in jail for a year or so. Usually, people said, the relatives help settle disputes.

626 Or, when I asked what would happen locally if a person were caught stealing, I was told: "We don't have such people here. If anyone did steal  
[685] the villagers would exclude him; they would ostracize him so he couldn't stand it. They would also take him to court."

But for most villagers the controls deal with behavior which is not considered criminal. Photiadis shows one way in which this operates:

[593] The father is the leader, and family members want to please him, and he in  
[834] turn takes care of the whole family. If a mother sees her adolescent daughter mingling with boys more than is expected, she will reprimand her by saying "you are ridiculing your father," or "the men at the coffeehouse will laugh at you."

[275] He contends that the coffeehouse operates as a social control over the family through the father, "who is confronted directly by the opinions of the cliques that form it and operate as reference groups for the rest of the population in the village." It is also true that social control operates in much the same way for the women through the neighborhood "gossiping groups."

[291] Even in Athens one is aware that the social controls from the village still pursues the individual. A Greek friend asked her dressmaker why she did not wear dresses with short sleeves and was told that she could not. "But don't you get hot?" "Oh, I would rather get hot," replied the dressmaker, "than have people gossiping about me in the village."

A group of village girls in a special course at Pierce College near Athens, when asked what the people of their communities would do if anyone went counter to prevailing norms, compiled this list:

## LIVESTOCK • 31

into thread at home by the women. In each household the women weave the rugs that are a necessary part of a girl's trousseau with wool from their own sheep— at least as long as it lasts.

Goats are raised for their meat and, in households with young children, for their milk. Adults rarely drink the liquid milk. As a form of pasteurization, the villagers always bring the milk to a boil before serving it, and the children drink the milk while it is still warm. In the more prosperous households, the women use both sheep's and goat's milk as an ingredient for a kind of milk and egg custard pie and for a sweet milk and rice dish served with sugar and cinnamon. But these foods are in a class of special treats and are served mostly in spring and early summer when the milk supply is at its height. Goat meat, however, is often a less elegant substitute for lamb on special occasions. Kids are raised for the Christmas feast, and the measure of the success of a household's participation in the village's *paniyiri* (patron saints' day festival) is expressed by the number of animals (goats and sheep) slaughtered for the feast. The more visitors to the house, the more enjoyable the day is felt to be; the more visitors, of course, the more meat is eaten. When asked whether the *paniyiri* had been successful this year, one farmer answered, "Oh yes; we slaughtered three!"

Chickens are also an additional source of food and sometimes of income for the villagers. Families keep about a dozen fowl. They roam the house yards, (there is an effort made to keep them off the village street, and all hands join in shooing them out of the houses), and roost at night in the stone stables or in the ground-floor storeroom of the houses. The villagers like eggs, and eat them in various ways, but their production is also, of course, seasonal. The chicken is most significant for the part it plays in Greek village hospitality. The villagers will say, "Come to our house for a proper meal (*trapezi*). We'll kill a chicken for you." And that is quite literally what they do. Occasionally enough chicks survive to create a surplus from the household's point of view. Such poultry is sold to buyers who come around from the nearby towns. Chickens are rarely considered an extra source of food for ordinary household consumption.

A watchdog is a common addition to a household's collection of farm animals. The people of Vasilika believe that thievery is a constant danger to be guarded against and prefer, if possible, not to leave their household compounds totally unguarded. Whenever possible, some member of the household stays around the property even if it means sacrificing a visit to a feast at a neighboring village. If all the members of a household are out working in the fields, a dog is left at home. Ordinarily, however, dogs are tied up all day and the farmer, just before he goes to sleep, frees the dog to stand vigil through the night. Dogs are trained to bark at any unusual noise or at the approach of any person who is not a member of the household. The villagers, especially the women, are very much afraid of the dogs and consequently avoid going out at night. On one occasion, when the women and girls of the village had sat together in the church until long after dark, they set out for home with groups of neighbors clustered together, holding on to each other, walking fast, and shuddering and exclaiming with fear at the clamor made by the dogs. It should be added that in actuality, there are few thieves in the village and that the dogs rarely bite anyone.

104 • THE VILLAGE: AS A COMMUNITY

621 tional activities, although ultimately controlled in Athens, function through dif-  
631 ferent organizational channels. The unity that might be achieved by overlapping  
personnel in a village as small as Vasilika is not, in fact, achieved because each  
of the formal divisions has its own leadership. Some degree of concurrence exists,  
however, as a result of the tendency for the leaders in each of these spheres,  
except the governmental, to remain relatively permanent. The priest has been  
the religious leader of the community for a generation, the former secretary of  
the council had been in office for twenty years, the school teacher has been there  
[208] for ten years, and so on. Nevertheless, officials who want to persuade Vasilika's  
population to some new course of action know that they cannot succeed by  
persuading the formal leaders only, or even the influential older men only,  
but must convince each head of a family, as well, if they are to get widespread  
compliance.

621 It would seem as though the formal organization of the village, and  
476 the family activities which so often lead out of the village and separate the  
571 interests of each family from those of others in the settlement, prevent the  
life-long daily associations of the men of the village from producing a driving  
force for enthusiastic joint action for village-wide goals. Nor does the system  
of voluntary, impermanent dyadic contracts between individuals produce any  
large groups with a sense of solidarity. As the foregoing has shown, then, there  
are activities which focus the attention of all the villagers but there is little  
active village-wide cooperation for village enterprises.

621 Yet this situation seems to conflict with the professed attitude of  
186 Vasilika's inhabitants toward their village and region. The villagers speak of  
Vasilika in the way Greeks from other villages speak of their home communi-  
ties. A man or woman's *patridha*, that is, his village of origin in this context  
(*patridha* may mean Greece as one's nation of origin in contrast with other  
nations), is always recommended as a place to visit. People frequently men-  
tioned certain qualities of their home villages which were worthy of praise.  
The air and the water, they would say, are clean, in the sense of pure and  
sweet, and these characteristics, they thought, made the village a healthy place,  
and, by extension, potentially therapeutic for anyone. The people of one's own  
[609] village were *endopyi* (home folks) in contrast to *kzeni* (strangers), and the  
term *kzeni* was used equally to refer to a man from Parori two miles away,  
and to us from the United States thousands of miles distant.

186 *Kzeni*, people not living in Vasilika, were described as thieves and as  
609 inhospitable. We were consistently told to lock our automobile in other villages,  
123 and also consistently told that it was not necessary to do so in Vasilika. Indeed,  
685 both with respect to other villages and within Vasilika itself, a distrust of others  
621 was most frequently expressed by saying that the villagers in question were  
thieves, and it was an accusation not meant lightly. On two occasions before we  
understood the situation, when we mislaid a pair of scissors and some clothes-  
pins, we asked the family with which we lived whether any one of them had seen  
the lost items. The family construed the question as an accusation that they had  
stolen the items from us, and it took several hours of reassuring conversation  
to convince them that we had meant nothing of the kind. Evidence suggests that

THE VILLAGERS AS GREEKS 105

an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

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2. Have land close to the village which can be used for vegetable crops.

3. If the crop of one section fails, due to hail or flood, still his other fields are saved.

Disadvantages:

1. Waste of time on the road.

2. Hard to work without causing trouble /47/ to the neighbors.

3. Proper rotation can not be carried on.

4. Inefficient use of man and animal labor.

5. Trouble between neighbors either for stepping or stealing from each others fields.

6. Much land is lost for the roads and division lines.

The worst of all the disadvantages are the conflicts that are created among good neighbors because of stepping in each others fields or plowing a furrow on the dividing lines. The priest of the village, who is keen minded, found out that more cases are reported to courts due to field line differences. People who work close together often do not speak to each other because of such troubles.

The land is suitable for tobacco and opium poppies. These two crops have played a large part during years of prosperity in establishing class distinctions and in teaching the people to be more extravagant.

Due to surplus production of tobacco crop in the country this area was not allowed to plant either tobacco or poppies, but only to raise cereals. The income from cereals was not as high and forced the farmers to tighten their economy. The luxuries one by one /48/ started disappearing from the village. The debts that were created during prosperous years based on the yearly incomes were hard to pay back.

At present the organized production of cereals and especially of wheat occupies the largest part of the acreage.

Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements.

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Thracians were of the worst type and usually would end with bloodshed.

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Social Control, Formal and Informal Aspects of Control.

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The "Gerousia" usually exercised a degree of informal control over its members through its generally-accepted definitions of what is right or wrong. The government courts had little influence in this. There was no stealing among the Caucasians; many families would leave their houses unlocked and work in the fields; their implements scattered in the yards and the poultry nests out in the open.

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Drinking is among the forms of behavior against which the women of Megali Vrisi voice their disapproval. All the men drink, but actually there are few who drink for the sake of getting drunk. When I ventured to ask some of those who get drunk, "Why they do it", almost everyone of them said, "to forget the miserable life". Some of them, due to deportations and wars, have lost all property, wives and children and the only comfort they find is to get drunk and get sentimental and weep.

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/94/ Community Events. The recently organized community fairs represent the inception of social organization for the promotion of recreation. The purpose of these fairs was competition in agricultural products and wholesome recreation, which meant so much to these villagers, but social conflict soon discontinued these fairs. Outsiders were invited to talk at these occasions and athletic events would give it a happy ending.

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The Use of Leisure Time and Visiting. One of the major problems that confronts every one working in Megali Vrisi is how to use the excess leisure time more profitably. This excess leisure time is the cause of conflicts and drunkenness. Due to the nature of their agriculture the rush work season comes in the fall for two months and two months in summer. The rest of the time very little work is done in the fields. During the winter months from December to April there is no farm work except the chores which are done by the women. This long slack season is an acute problem for the farmers themselves. From morning until late in

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